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*A national Change in Morals, in Measures, and  
in Politics necessary to national Prosperity.*

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A

# DISCOURSE

PREACHED ON FRIDAY THE  
FOURTH DAY OF FEBRUARY 1780,  
BEING THE DAY APPOINTED FOR  
A GENERAL FAST.

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*Sit inscriptum in fronte uniuscujusque civis, quid de  
republica sentiat.*

CICERO.

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L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

A national change in March in March, and  
the national party to national property.

# DISCOURSE

PREACHED ON FRIDAY THE  
FOURTH DAY OF FEBRUARY 1790  
BEING THE DAY APPOINTED FOR

A GENERAL FAST

IN VIRTUE OF A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS  
IN 1789

L O N D O N  
PRINTED FOR T. CADDIS, IN THE STRAND



TO THE  
PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AT LARGE,  
BUT MORE PARTICULARLY TO  
THE UNPRINCIPLED SCEPTIC,  
THE GRACELESS CHRISTIAN,  
THE SEDITIOUS SUBJECT;  
AND  
TO EVERY DENOMINATION  
OF OPPOSERS AND OBJECTORS  
TO THE NATIONAL FAITH  
AND THE  
CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,  
THE FOLLOWING DISCOURSE  
IS WITH THE VERY BEST INTENTION  
INSCRIBED BY  
THE AUTHOR.

*-- Hunter.*

TO THE

PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AS PARLIAMENT

BUT MORE PARTICULARLY TO

THE PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN

THE GRACIOUS CHRISTIAN

THE SEVERAL SUBJECTS

AND

TO EVERY PERSON

OF OPINIONS AND OBJECTS

TO THE NATIONAL FAITH

AND THE

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

THE FOLLOWING DISCOURSE

IN WHICH THE VERY BEST INTENTION

IS EXPRESSED BY

THE AUTHOR

## P R E F A C E.

**I**T is the manner of modern Authors to introduce their publications with studied and affected apologies. The Writer of the present Pamphlet thinks himself not obliged to any such conciliating concessions. He deems it unnecessary either to soften the spirit in which he has written, or to vindicate the choice of the interesting subject which inspired it.

Is he rigid as a moralist? Is he indignant as a citizen? Is he zealous as a christian?—*Et censure et haruspice opus est.*



The times suggest this animation. Lennitives are ill accommodated to the prevailing disorders. Disguise and Disimulation were criminal. He writes from the integrity of his heart. He writes from the honest resentments of a liege subject.

He propagates no political novelties: he throws down no legal foundations. He abets no innovations in the state: he projects no revolution in government. What need then of an apology? The missionaries of faction speak aloud, convene publicly, act openly. And it is surely as allowable to inculcate allegiance as to disseminate treason.

Does there remain an objection to the author from professional impropriety? He rests his vindication on the unquestioned authority of the first and ablest law writer in the kingdom. "The clergy of the Church of England as  
" in

P R E F A C E. v

“in matters of faith and morality they  
 “acknowledge no guide but the Scrip-  
 “tures, so in matters of external polity  
 “and of private right they derive all  
 “their title from the civil magistrate;  
 “they look up to the king as their head,  
 “to the parliament as their lawgiver,  
 “and pride themselves in nothing so  
 “justly, as in being true members of  
 “the church, emphatically by law  
 “established. Whereas the principles  
 “of those who differ from them, as well  
 “in one extreme as in the other, are  
 “equally and totally destructive of those  
 “ties and obligations by which all so-  
 “ciety is kept together; equally en-  
 “croaching on those rights, which rea-  
 “son and the original contract of every  
 “free state in the universe have vested in  
 “the sovereign power; and equally  
 “aiming at a distinct and independent  
 “supremacy of their own.—The dread-  
 “ful effects of such bigotry when actu-  
 “ated by erroneous principles, even of  
 “the

“ the protestant kind, was sufficiently  
 “ evident from the history of the ana-  
 “ baptists in Germany, the covenanters  
 “ in Scotland, and that deluge of secta-  
 “ ries in England, who murdered their  
 “ sovereign, overturned the church and  
 “ monarchy, shook every pillar of law,  
 “ justice and private property, and most  
 “ devoutly established a kingdom of the  
 “ saints in their stead.”\*

Thus principled and thus privileged,  
 the Author of this Discourse professes  
 to speak from the most conscientious  
 motives. He has little to hope, less to  
 expect, and nothing to fear, either from  
 the favour of ministers, or the frown of  
 malcontents. He has no connection ei-  
 ther with the leaders of, or the dependents  
 upon, administration; with those who dis-  
 tribute, or those who enjoy the honours  
 and emoluments of office. Much less

\* Judge Blackstone's Comment. 4to. Vol. 4. p. 103.



P R E F A C E.      vii

does he think, and much less has he to do with the demagogues, or their dupes; with the political empirics, or the subjects of their imposition; with the original venders, or the small dealers in sedition;—with the rebels, their agents, accomplices, or associations.

Does he think, and much less has he to do with the demagogues, or their dupes; with the political empirics, or the fabricators of their imposition; with the original vendors, or the small dealers in sedition;—with the rebels, their agents, accomplices, or associations.

## A DISCOURSE, &c.

PROVERBS xxiv. 21.

*Fear the Lord and the King.*

**I**T has been and is yet no singular opinion, that Religion has nothing to do with Policy. Some of the real friends and some of the avowed enemies of Christianity have joined in this hasty assumption. But although actuated by different motives, and driving at different ends, they have both involved themselves in one and the same error.

So far and so glaringly have they been mistaken, that we dare venture to assert, that society cannot be supported, no national establishment can be formed, and no scheme of  
good



good government can continue, nay even subsist, without the restraints and incentives of religion. For where or when did you ever read or hear of a body politic, an army, or a nation of unbelievers,—of a people addicted to no religious rites, and accustomed to supplicate no God? Of all the wild fictions which infidelity has intruded upon the world to impose its unnatural system; and of all the monsters which have, either really existed, or only been said to exist, none so portentous as an empire of atheists has ever yet appeared. No. Let the stubborn sceptic wrangle as perversely, invent as largely, and declaim as loudly as he pleases, yet the truth he combats will still remain in the same full force, and, after all, it will be manifest that *verily there is a reward for the righteous, doubtless there is a God which judgeth the earth.*"

THOUGH this life is short, and we are admonished not to set our affections upon it;—though the things of this world,—though the kingdoms of the earth and all their glory are transitory, are trifling, are light as vanity or a vapour when compared to the things of eternity, yet

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we should consider that they are, in some proportion or other, every man's probationary possession, talents entrusted to our improvement, and the possible introduction to a better inheritance, to a house and habitation *not made with hands reserved in heaven for us*:—that our future allotment depends upon the use or abuse of our present portion, on the profits of our negotiation, and the improvement of the stock consigned to us:—that, considered in this light, every station, every condition, every office and employment becomes of unspeakable importance and consideration; and that we must be content or compelled, notwithstanding our fancied consequence, to be everlastingly wretched, or rewarded in the next world, according to our demeanour in this.

By our demeanour or behaviour here below is not meant our private conduct, our private conversation, or our private opinions only. Under this term, it will readily be admitted, the *public* as well as the *private*, the *relative* no less than the *proper* duties and offices of men are included. For the great Author of our salvation addresses us not only  
as

as individuals, but as citizens; and gave positive commands and directions to public officers, to common soldiers, and private subjects. In his idea, a withholding of tribute was an act of fraud. Murmuring in a military subaltern was an instance of disobedience: and, if a public agent demanded or received more than was appointed, it was deemed a deed of extortion. Though by birth exempted, he himself paid tribute, and lest this due subjection should not be paid, and that no umbrage might be given, and no unnecessary resistance offered to the rulers of the state, a miracle was wrought and the laws of the universe were suspended. The passages in *Scripture* which enforce the duty of the *subject*, which point out the connection of true *Religion* and sound *Policy*, and which demonstrate the inseparable alliance of *church* and *state*, are numerous, cogent and convincing. The order of the state for the solemn observation of this day, is a living example of this connection and alliance, and a present and powerful confirmation of the sound doctrine contained in the words of the text, *Fear the Lord and the King.*

THE



THE fear of God in Scripture is in different places understood, and applied, in different acceptations, and to different purposes. This common observation is adduced not for your information, but because the present subject seems to require it. Sometimes, then, it means that dread of the Holy and Almighty Being which ever accompanies the consciousness, and uniformly follows the commission, of sin. *I tremble for fear of thee and am afraid of thy judgments*, is the real and unaffected language of a sinner trembling under the anxious apprehension of future vengeance. But the fear of God is also sometimes used for the *whole* of religion. It denotes that filial reverence which a good man pays to his Maker. It betokens that affectionate awe with which the devout theist contemplates the great Universal Spirit; and describes that grateful respect and humble confidence with which the pious christian addresses his loving Lord. *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; a good understanding have all they that do thereafter: the praise of it endureth for ever.*

TAKING,

TAKING, therefore, this sense of the word along with us, let us examine what effect the fear of God is fitted to have upon us as *men* and *citizens*, as *Britons* as well as *Christians*.

I. As men, supposing us even free from vice and guiltless of intentional error we are absolute dependents, we are unprofitable pensioners on the bounty of heaven: And, though undeviating rectitude of conduct could entitle us, on the rigid score of justice, to *no reward*; yet it would undoubtedly prove an ample security against *vindictive infliction*. But as things are unhappily circumstanced, and as events have deplorably fallen out, we have, God knows, from innocence, no claim to an exemption from punishment. As men, we are not only impotent, but guilty creatures. God is our offended father, and we are his disobedient children. In this criminal situation, no hope from nature, no resource from reason, no relief from justice is to be expected or derived. If hope comes, it must come from heaven: if mercy is extended, it must flow from God: if an expedient for our deliverance is discovered, it must be the discovery of

of infinite wisdom : if our salvation is effected it must be the effort of omnipotence. And, here, the unmerited dawn of the *Christian* day breaks upon the benighted world with welcome splendour. By the revelation of Christ, we are assured, that God is placable, and man restored to a possibility of salvation. A period of grace is proclaimed, and upon stipulated conditions a general amnesty is offered, by a delegate from heaven. But as this is the sole, so it is the last, interposition of God in our favour. *There remaineth*, we are informed, *no more sacrifice for sin.*

Now informed and enlightened as we are, should not this revelation, in the very first place, lead us, as individuals and sinners, to humble ourselves before Almighty God, to confess, to abhor, to forsake our sins, and to walk before him in newness of life ? Repentance is the condition fixed in the unalterable Will and word of God, in order to acceptance with him. A change of mind and manners and an habitual course of future obedience are as absolute terms of salvation as faith itself. And whatever additional command, admonition,



tion, or rule of life, the revelation of God in scripture, or in other words, religion or the fear of the Lord enjoins, *that* it is our bounden duty to perform.

UPON a due and diligent examination of our Bible, then, we shall find that we are not only obliged as *individuals* and *christians* to fear and worship God, but as *citizens* to love and assist our brethren. And as we could not live together even in one *family*; and as the wants, the conveniences and comforts, of \**society* could much less be relieved, procured or administered without due subjection and subordination, we shall also discover that we are required to pay all proper respect and obedience to those

\* If the reader wishes to see the necessity and duties of the Social state, proved and enforced with convictive and invincible strength of argument, he may read Woolaston, p. 145; or Grotius de Jure, lib. I. c. iv.; but more particularly Puffendorf de Officio Hominis & Civis, lib. II. c. v & vi; and Mr. Owen's incomparable Infirmary Sermon. Or if the Socratic form of reasoning be more adapted to his taste, he will find the same subject treated in a persuasive, perspicuous, and detailed manner in Plato de Repub. lib. II. p. 598. fol. edit. Ficin.

who

who are set in authority over us. Religion is not the author of confusion but of peace. Hence we find the religious statesman in my text joins the fear of God and the king together. Hence the Apostle, almost in the same words admonishes, *fear God, honour the king*. Hence our master Christ, preserving the same connexion, commands, *render therefore to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things which are God's*. Thus closely united, thus equally binding are the *sanctions of piety* and the *statutes of the state*.

FARTHER, the same authority which enjoins this duty to the civil magistrate, prescribes also the degree, defines the measure, and infers the necessity of it. *Render to all their dues. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. The powers that be are ordained of God. Rulers are the ministers of God. They bear not the sword in vain. They are a terror to evil works:—revengers to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.* The inference from this in the apostolical estimation and language is, *Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath but for conscience sake; for, as they that*  
B
*resist,*

*resist, resist the ordinance of God, they shall receive to themselves damnation.*

BUT besides these positive precepts which are solely pointed to enforce our duty as citizens and subjects, the christian religion in the WHOLE of it;—in its genius, in the moral it teaches, in the graces it inspires, in the virtues it exacts, and the examples it exhibits, is wonderfully calculated to promote, secure, and establish the order of society and the ends of constitutional government. That humility, that moderation, that detachment from the world, that denial of sordid self, that endearing courtesy, that overflowing compassion, that force of friendship, that energy of charity, that generous, that almost unlimited regard to the claims, to the interests and happiness of others, and that uniform habitude of self government which it inculcates and impresses on the *private believer*, have a direct tendency to shed the most orderly and auspicious influence on the *collective body* of the state.

FOR who that is abased with a due sense of  
his



his own wants, weaknesſes, and imperfections, who that has a broken and contrite heart, will affect to be haughty to his ſuperiors, to *deſpiſe government*, to *ſpeak evil of dignities*, or to open his mouth, or lift up his hand, againſt the ruler of his nation? Who that has renounced the world, will be backward to pay *tribute to whom tribute, and cuſtom to whom cuſtom, is due*? Who that is *meek, merciful, kind, compaſſionate, courteous, and tender-hearted*, will deform his features, vex his ſoul and embitter his life, with party—rage, rancour and malignity? Who that has acquired the familiar habit of ſelf government, will reſuſe to comply with the wholeſome regulations of civil policy? Or who that has that charity, which *believeth all things, which hopeth all things, which endureth all things*—who that has imbibed the ſpirit of that real patriot *who counted not his life dear to himſelf*, and who *wiſhed himſelf accuſed for his brethren*—who that is a diſciple of that divine Saviour who *died for his enemies* will heſitate for a moment, to part with his property, to expend his blood and to lavish his life, when—

ever the safety of his king or the cause of his country calls him to so noble a sacrifice?

By the standard of our religion, then, and by the effects it is fitted to produce, let us examine the present temper of this nation, and let us endeavour to ascertain whether the *fear of God* and of *the King* prevail in this island, and whether, from the general manners of the times, we have reason to expect the blessing of Heaven upon our arms.

II. To whatever period of our history, since the reformation, we look back, to whatever æra we have recourse, we shall find ourselves unprincipled and flagitious, beyond all example of former ages. Characters, it is true, there have been, in every reign, atrociously profane and abandoned. But then, in those days, these instances were rare, and generally reprobated. Vice was not the complexion of the times. But now, whether we examine the remoter or more recent annals of our history, since the period in reference, we shall find ourselves unparalleled in wicked

ed principles, and it is to be feared in wicked practices likewise.

PERHAPS the times, before the present, most notoriously bad were during the usurpation of Cromwell and the reign of our second Charles. But whether we compare the present period with the consummate hypocrisy of the protectorship, or the crying profligacy of the succeeding government, we shall have small reason to boast of our superior sanctity. For though dissimulation was the cloak of the usurper and his tribe of fanatics, and open and impudent libertinism the characteristic of the king and the court; yet the contagion was not universal. The bulk of the nation acted upon principle. There were many great and good characters. Piety had not lost all its influence. An infidel then, like an unclean bird, was obliged to shelter himself in his own congenial horrors. Dirt and darkness as they are his solace, so they were then his only security: and he was no sooner seen abroad than he was hissed and hooted at. Every honest man joined the honest uproar; till they had driven the miscreant from the



face of the day, and the sight of the sun to his former contemptible corner.\*

BUT now the case is otherwise. We are, it seems grown wiser than our forefathers. They, it is true, had what they thought a foundation for their creed. They read much; they thought more. They examined coolly, they reflected deeply. They methodized their reasoning, they digested their knowledge; and after a long and laborious investigation, they decided in favour of *Christianity*. But the *common run* of modern minute philosophers have little learning, leisure, or abilities. Yet if their *minds* are unfurnished, their *passions* are eager and strong: and though they have not force of reason to form *sound judgement*, they have bias of will to make a *bad election*. Nor has there been wanting in almost every period some *arch-in-*

\* THE reader has scarce need to be reminded of the general opposition, which the writings of the philosopher of Malmesbury met with, and the indignity with which Shaftsbury, notwithstanding his rank and rhetoric, was treated by the zealous apologists of those, and the times immediately ensuing.

*fidel* the dictator, the prince and patron of the unlettered and implicit race. To him they look up for comfort and instruction, and to his oracular decisions they pay a blind, credulous and unreserved submission. This method has this double advantage that it requires neither much labour nor erudition; at the same time that it sets you free from the superstitious shackles in which the pious simplicity of preceding ages were fast bound, and entirely removes every penal terror announced by the priesthood, and rendered infinitely tremendous under the *odious* term of damnation.

In short, the times are changed. Our predecessors believed every thing, and we believe nothing. Infidelity is the fashion. Princes write panegyrics upon drivellers and dotards. The last dying words and firm conduct of *atheists* and *unbelievers* are published to the *Christian* world, for their use and edification. And instead of any solid and comfortable scheme of rational theology and immortality, occult and independent properties in nature are multiplied and contended for,—the na-

tive, conscious, palpable, active and aspiring powers of the soul are disputed or denied--- whilst the gloomy and degrading doctrines of fatal and *ineluctable* necessity---of a limited, imperfect, malignant, or superannuated deity, ---of monstrous combinations of inert, or more monstrous organizations of intelligent, matter, are hardily and cruelly obtruded on the astonished and trembling believer.\* So that we stand unrivalled in our achievements. We have exploded the scheme of christianity as an obsolete imposition. We have substituted matter in the room of God and Spirit: and reduced ourselves to the envied and glorious level of the brutes that perish.

THESE are the exploits of our literati. These are the principles of some of our first-rate writers. The press groans with the weight and accumulating bulk of these blasphemies: and our periodical publications

\* THE books in which these doctrines are delivered, and their different authors might easily be specified. But the learned reader stands in no need of this information, and they would only tend to bewilder and betray *the unlearned and unstable.*

are



are little better than a retailed farrago of these pestilential opinions.

WHAT a blessed effect the propagation of such a system has had upon our morals, it is easier to conceive than to describe. Dissipation, extravagance, gaming, folly, lewdness and luxury prevail amongst us to a degree unknown before in this kingdom. Religious restrictions no longer repress our passions; and scarcely operate to the preservation of outward modesty in dress, in manners and in language. Bold and indiscriminate defamation, unedifying, inelegant and indelicate levity, or coarser subjects exhibited in a coarser dress form the substance of common conversation. We speak, we write, we act, without any regard to our own, or the characters and condition of those about us. We glory in our shame,\* and are ashamed of nothing but what ought to be our glory, the public profession, appearance and practice of religi-

\* THE false courage and false shame of libertinism is well delineated by an antient and elegant dramatist. *Hic, ubi opus est, non verentur: illic, ubi nihil opus est, ibi verentur.*

on. And do we think that this course of conduct can be either permanent or prosperous? Or have we nothing to fear either from the interposition of Providence, or the constitution of nature? Or has God never *visited for these things*, or has he never *taken vengeance on such a nation as this*?

I do not affect to prophesy :---much less is it the purpose of this discourse to raise a premature alarm, or to spread abroad unnecessary terrors. But, certain it is, that such a scheme of morality, and such an unnatural creed as obtain at present, can never promote either our national strength, or our national glory. The sure effect of vice, sooner or later, is ruin to *individuals*, and the extermination of *nations*. Excess and extravagance bring on distress and bankruptcy. Lewdness ends in debility and disease. Unprincipled libertinism takes fullen shelter in desperate suicide.---And infidelity and atheism, destructive of all the genuine feelings of humanity, and unfriendly to ever tender, every generous purpose, to every natural and every social affection, to every moral and to every christian duty,---Infidelity

delity and atheism teach us—that we have no souls to save, no prayers to offer, *no God to fear, no king to honour*, and no country for which we are obliged to fight and die.

WE have already made a large advance in these principles and practices. We have then, it is plain, little *fear of God* before our eyes. Let us see whether we have any greater *fear of the king*.

THERE was a time, and not long since, when it became every man to be cautious in delivering, and temperate in defining, his political opinions. But that time seems now over: and we must take a decided part either with those who wish well to the constitutional form of government, or with those *who are given to change*. But before we renounce our feelings as Englishmen,—before we determine to throw off the allegiance of subjects,—before we take the desperate resolve to work the ruin of this devoted country, we should do well to give place to a little serious reflection. Innovations are more easily introduced than eradicated.

THERE



THERE is no advantage on earth which may not be abused; there is no blessing from Heaven which may not be perverted. It has been the unhappy fate of almost all empires, wherein any generous notions or considerable degrees of liberty have prevailed, to be pestered with *incendiaries*. These quickly aggravate some real, or forge and publish some fancied, grievance. The oppression of the subject and the encroaching power of the prince are the trite and threadbare complaints of party. Discontent with the legal government, and disaffection to the ruling powers, as they are generally engendered in similar characters, so they almost always *operate* alike. The opposition of *this* day proceeds upon the beaten ground, and the clamour of the present mob of malcontents is still for *liberty*.\* But let us not be seduced by the semblance of patriotism. Let us keep aloof from the shout of sedition. Many an honest man, allured by this popular cry, has followed it to his ruin.

\* THE miscreant Cataline desecrated this venerable word in the same manner. Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa, quam sæpe optâstis *libertas*. Sall.

FOR though the wishes of wild uncultivated nature, and the visionary jargon of some Utopian projectors affect and favour an *equal, independent, illimited and universal* liberty;\* yet society manifestly stands, in need of regulation. Whilst, solid reason, sound experience and the most authentic history assure us that the pride, the profligacy and depravity of human nature, can only be restrained from the most wanton, cruel, and sanguinary excesses, by the insuperable barriers of established law, and the needful interposition of the *powers which be*. For if the *legal freedom of subjects* be *eligible*, the *limited authority of kings* we find both *eligible* and *necessary*. If the one be *estimable*, the other is *salutary*: and as we *justly enjoy* the former, so we are *justly and happily restricted* by the latter. They are both essential and constituent branch-

\* MR. LOCKE has been quoted as asserting this absurdity. The sensible and patriotic Dean of Gloucester has promised to prove him mistaken. In the mean time it may not be improper to quote Mr. Locke's authority against himself. It is evident, then, that his idea of liberty did not exclude moderate restraint. For it is an axiom of his that "where there is *no law* there is *no freedom*." Locke on Government.

es of our constitution. A rare and, if we were but sensible of our advantages, a happy conjunction! Let us, then, be careful, that we neither encourage nor suffer innovations: and let us not, with impious zeal, attempt to weaken or dissolve a connexion, which God and man have thus concurred to put together, to cement, and strengthen.

THERE are mysteries in politics and secrets of state which few perhaps have sufficient acuteness, and fewer the opportunity to explore. But one thing every man, with his eyes open and his senses unimpaired, must have observed, and be compelled to acknowledge. It is this. That amidst the commotions and competitions, the distractions and divisions, the ferment and turbulence of this unhappy country, we are in no hazard of tyranny. The danger is on the other side. A large body of the empire is, and has been long, in arms against their lawful prince. They have joined themselves to their and our common enemy. They have been and are still abetted by a numerous, a needy and noisy party at home.

THE



THE opposition of this faction to the measures of government has been urged with a license of language, an irreverence of expostulation, an insolence of remonstrance, a perversion of terms, a misapplication of parts, and a prostitution of talents extremely unbecoming statesmen and subjects, and highly disgraceful to the wisdom, the weight and dignity of a senatorial convention.\* Nor has this factious spirit been confined to the circle of their public capacity only. The same temper has betrayed itself without doors. Our public prints are filled with the most inflammatory and seditious speeches. Rude, undutiful, contemptuous and odious personal reflections are cast upon persons of supreme rank. The dæmon of sedition urges his emissaries to the most indecent excesses. And

\* Qui consilio suo rectoribus civitatum adstant, quæ ex usu reipublicæ videbantur esse, dextre & fideliter citra affectus ac pravos respectus, exponant; salutem reipublicæ in omnibus consiliis pro scopo habeant, non *propriis opes*, aut *potentiam*;—*factionibus* & *coitionibus illicitis* abstineant; nihil quod dici oportet dissimulent, nihil quod *taceri* oportet *eliminent*, &c.

Puffendorf, lib. II. c. 18.

bitter

bitter and unmerited invective, is directed against the august person of the sovereign, and with undaunted and overbearing insolence levelled at the throne itself.\*

OPPOSITIONS there have been to government in this, and all free states, moderate, meritorious and patriotic. And there are some *few protests*† on record, which will do the protesters immortal honour, and stand to

\* RECTORIBUS civitatis civis debet, reverentiam, fidelitatem, & obsequium. Cui conjunctum est, ut idem præsentì statu adquiescat, neque ad res novandas animum adjiciat,—utque bene ac honorifice de iisdem, & eorum actionibus sentiat, atque loquatur.

Puffendorf, lib. II. c. 11.

† OF such sort was the protest made against an enormous *perpetual* pension, settled, at the request of the *present petitioners*, on the title and descendants of a statesman, who, though he had deserved well of his country during his employment, made a most ungracious use of the royal bounty ever after. Of the same nature was that single negative vote, when the *farce* of the national thanks to a British admiral for bearing away from a broken enemy, was exhibited with so much mock-solemnity by *his majesty's servants* at St. Stephen's. Such illustrious dissentients may justly adopt the sublime language given by the poet to the great luminary of the day.

Nitor in adversum ; nec me, qui cætera, vincit

Impetus : & rapido contrarius evehor orbi.

posterity

posterity a perennial monument of their integrity, independency and public conscience. But always to oppose and contradict, to be incessantly morose, querulous and croaking,—for ever to wear the same rueful features, and invariably to repeat the same melancholy forebodings,—what is it but to damp and deject the brave and enterprizing genius of *Britain*, and to add artificial spirits to her perfidious and dastardly enemies? What is it but to fight the battles of *France*? What is it but to rouse the native lethargy of *Spain*? What is it but a succedaneum for the exhausted resources, and animation to the expiring spirit of rebellion in *America*? What is it but the rancorous and unrelenting malignity of a disappointed and desperate faction, whose sole mortification is to be out of place,\* whose

C

bitterest

\* This has been always a fundamental grievance. The *associated confederacy* of conspirators at Rome, breathed the same sentiments and smarted under the same ravenous feelings.—Postquam respublica in paucorum potentium jus atque ditionem concessit, semper illis reges, tetrarchæ vestigales esse; populi, nationes stipendia pendere: cæteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles, atque ignobiles, *vulgi* fuimus, *sine gratia sine auctoritate*, his obnoxii quibus



bitterest vexation,\* Cassandra like, never to  
be credited by those they threaten, and whose  
eternal

bus si respublica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque om-  
nis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiæ apud illos sunt, aut  
ubi illi volunt: nobis reliquere pericula, repulsas, judicia,  
egestatem.—Quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium inest,  
tolerare potest, illis divitias superare—nobis remfamilia-  
rem, etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas, aut am-  
plius domus continuare; nobis est domi inopia, foris æs  
alienum; mala res; spes multo asperior Catalin. Orat.  
passim.

A philosopher who was a familiar resident in courts,  
and had been long in the habit of intimate and uninter-  
rupted communication with kings—a philosopher, whose  
sagacity led, and whose situation enabled, him to investi-  
gate the different systems of government and the various  
sources of their corruption, resolves the principal cause of  
sedition in every form of the republican polity into the  
lust of power, preeminence, or wealth. Aristotel. Politic.  
lib. V. And to shew his abhorrence of civil dissension  
he attributes it in general to the abandoned part of the  
community:—οἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν διαφερόντες οὐ ποιοῦσι τῶντων.  
lib. V. cap. IV. Fol. edit. Causab.

\* Tum etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris  
Ora, Dei jussu, non unquam credita Teucris.

VIRGIL.

They have the fate without the merit of Cassandra. In  
the course of their opposition they have declaimed, but  
they

eternal opprobrium, to have been the aggravators of their country's weakness, and, in consequence, the indirect and able auxiliaries of her enemies?

WHATEVER CAUSE then, the serious Divine or the speculative Philosopher may assign for our national distress, the INSTRUMENTS of it are undeniably manifest : and our ruin, if our ruin be at hand, will not proceed from place-men, but from *pretended patriots* :—it will not be brought on by princes, but by *parricides* :

they have not demonstrated, they have asserted, but they have not proved ; they have condemned measures which they could not meliorate, and criminated men, not whose conduct they did in their conscience disapprove, but whose situation from their hearts they envied. They have made tedious, formal, and malignant inquisitions which have terminated solely in their own egregious confusion : and in the heat of debate and from the plenitude of their spleen, inauspicious predictions have escaped them, which in spite of their most sanguine wishes, the events have providentially belied.

If the reader can bear the distressing and degrading view of human nature, exhibited in the *History of Opposition*, he may receive complete information on this subject, by a perusal of that elegant and spirited pamphlet.

—it will not be effected by tyrants, but by *traytors*.

THIS kingdom has been oftentimes the scene of civil dissensions, and too often of civil slaughter. But that we should make war upon each other at a time when our foreign enemies are in force against us, seems little less than a judicial infatuation. To be factious at home when we should be fighting abroad,---to propose withholding the necessary supplies from government when the subject should be raising, and the monarch applying, them to the national defence,---to be insisting upon trifling regulations in particular diminutive departments, and to be clamouring for the redress of petty grievances when the whole of the empire trembles to its base, and our very existence as an independent kingdom is said, and with such airs of sufficiency too, to be in danger,---resembles the wise conduct of those domestic politicians, who if their habitation were on fire, should continue to debate and dispute concerning the repair of a wall or a window, instead of uniting their endeavours, and bending all their nerves, to effect an extinction of the flames. A foreign war was wont formerly to heal



heal all divisions, to unite all hearts, and to join all hands. But even this has lost its usual efficacy. We are it seems neither to be frightened nor beaten into unanimity. The truth of the matter perhaps is this. The sons of sedition have, many of them, little to lose, and something they may get in the scramble. They have not much property of their own, and if they can set their neighbours together by the ears, they may chance to seize their effects, in the hurry and turmoil of the conflict.\*

LET us suppose this unhappy event brought  
C 3 about,

\* Alterum genus est eorum, qui quanquam premuntur ære alieno dominationem tamen expectant: rerum potiri volunt: honores quos quietâ republicâ desperant, *perturbatâ* consequi posse arbitrantur. Cicero Orat. II. in Cat.

Parallels will force themselves upon a classic memory. It will not be out of place to observe here, that during the consulate of Cicero, the opposition at Rome was composed both of city and of country members, alike profuse, and alike poor. Speaking of another tribe of the conspirators, that able and eloquent statesman says, Sed tamen hi sunt coloni. Hi dum ædificant, tanquam beati: dum prædiis, lecticis, familiis magnis, conviviis apparatus delectantur, in tantum cæs alienum inciderunt, ut si salvi esse velint Sylla sit iis ab inferis excitandus.

Another

about, let us suppose the foreign war subsided,\* and that we had no enemies abroad to contend with. Let us suppose ourselves mad enough to embroil the king and commons in a serious quarrel, and furious enough to support each his favoured party in arms. What would be the issue of this unhappy contention? What *has* been, you need not to be informed, and what might, nay what *must* be, it requires no profound sagacity to discern. One of the contending parties must at last prevail. If the war should terminate in the superiority of the crown, confiscations, proscriptions, aliena-

Another division of these banditti he describes, as *Genus sanè varium & mistum & turbulentum*. And (how uniformly do private vices operate to the public detriment!) he concludes the hideous picture thus: In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri, impudique versantur.

\* Domestic dissensions in the heat and danger of foreign war only tend to strengthen the common enemy. A civil contest would, at this season, be the extreme of madness. It would involve the combatants in one universal ruin. And England from her former meridian of glory might dwindle into a province dependent upon France. Peaceful times are for obvious reasons most favourable to insurgents. Cataline knew how to avail himself of such an opportunity. “*In Italia nullus exercitus: senatus nihil sanè intentus: tutæ, tranquillæque res omnes: sed ea prorsus opportuna Catalinæ.*” Sall.  
tions,



tions, exile or an infamous execution await the traytors, and the nation at large must, in future, submit to the irresistible will of the victor. Suppose the upper house most powerful. You have the savage feudal system revived:—and, vassals, we must submit to serve or to be sold, at the command of masters imperious, capricious and cruel. If the commons, as formerly, should weather out the storm of civil carnage, what remains, I beseech you, to console us for the loss of our present secure, steady, and equitable establishment, but the clamour, vehemence, contradiction and fluctuation of republican councils; and instead of one, the merciful monarch of a free people, near six hundred tyrants, the incessant and intolerable scourges of more than six millions of slaves?—Till some villain, more artful, able, and aspiring than the rest, should gain the ascendancy,—despise and dismiss his fellow commoners,—usurp supreme and unlimited power—and rule this wretched, ruined country with a rod of scorpions. Some one or other of these calamities, or, in all probability, a much worse would ensue. At all events, it would be scarce prudent to make the experiment, in expectation of a milder alternative.

WE



WE have a king upon the throne, an illustrious example of piety and purity in a corrupt and abandoned age. We have a king, a Briton, and a friend to Britons. Let us acquire and preserve a due sense of this blessing. Let us not give heed to party-lies, nor be tempted to forego our loyalty. If you have any \* property which you value, if you have any lives besides your own which you hold

\* Let the man of large property consider that he only holds it by a tenure confirmed to him by the laws, as now established. If those laws be altered or abrogated ;—if the present code or system of jurisprudence be deranged, debilitated, or rescinded ;—if any or all of the different branches of the legislature of this land be deposed or annihilated either by their mutual conflicts, or by the usurped power of others, a revolution is effected :—the former constitution is at an end :—the laws are trampled upon, their authority is done away :—nothing is held venerable or sacred :—all things divine and human are confounded,—and property is unsubstantial, is transferred, is untenable, or tenable only at the will of the usurper.

This notion is by no means chimerical. “ A devolution of power to the people at large” (and consequently to a majority of them) “ includes in it a dissolution of “ the whole form of government, and by *annihilating the “ sovereign power, repeals all positive laws whatsoever “ before enacted.”* Blackstone, vol. 1. p. 162.

dear,

dear, if you have any love to your country or respect to your religion, *fear God and the King.*

BUT if you are mad with party, or prompted by pride to neglect and despise the happiness and allotment which is before you, go, in quest of adventures, to some more favourite clime.—Depart a voluntary exile from your hated native soil.—Embark for the continent; and, in the envied metropolis of *Gaul*, crouch your haughty head to the uncontrolled monarch of that servile state, and lead an anxious life, at the nod of the tyrant, every moment liable to be for ever buried in the damp and dreary caverns of the ruthless *Bastille*.—Or if your coward heart recoils at the prospect, let the *Pyrenees* secure your safety, and see how long your licentious spirit will brook the gloomy restraint and suspicious solemnity of *Spanish* manners; and how long you can bear to tremble under the hourly apprehension of suffering the most exquisite tortures of the *Inquisition*.—Or if you want more liberty, go to *America*:—affort with the *Yankees*:---cultivate their woods and wilds:—habituate yourself to the dangerous vicissitudes of their intemperate atmosphere;---and, since  
you



you are not contented to submit to the mild restraints of legal government, go and bow your neck to the feet of all the self-delegated despots which compose the *Congress*.

IF your reason is not entirely evaporated in the frenzy of faction, if your stock of prudence is not as inconsiderable as your stock of real patriotism, rather be advised to open your eyes to the ruin on which you are about to run. Consider the measures already taken, and whither they must inevitably lead you. Let remorse succeed to riot:—and, prevent, whilst it is in your power, the wreck of the regal republic. Our liberty, the pride, the boast of *Britain*, and the envy of surrounding states is already degenerated into licentiousness. This imperceptibly leads to illicit combinations,—to open disobedience,—to actual resistance,—to intestine war with all its train of attendant horrors: and the sure issue of this civil strife will be tyranny, democracy, anarchy, or slavery. Our religion heaven-descended is, by some of its professors, stained with an impure mixture of scepticism. It is by others impiously opposed: and if this spirit be progressive, we shall sink into *national* infidelity, or monstrous atheism. The consummation of our ruin will then be effected. On this side the eternal bourn,



ourn, we can descend to no lower depth of melancholy, misery or perdition. The national rejection of Christianity hath ever been followed by the most baleful consequences.

BEFORE our circumstances are irretrievable, before our condition is irreparable let us stand corrected. Let us *fear God*. Let us be thankful to Heaven for our liberty \* and for our laws. Let us humble ourselves in the sight of the Almighty. Let us confess our unworthiness of his mercies. Let us amend our lives: and let our repentance be as signal as our impieties have been. Above all let us learn to value, to respect and cultivate in ourselves and others, that divine religion which we have seen to be so favourable to the interests of society and the ends of good government.

AND to the *fear of God* let us join a dutiful *fear of the King*. Let us *not speak evil of the ruler of our people*. Let us *not speak evil of dignities*. Let us *be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake*.

To

\* We enjoy the most perfect state of freedom in Europe, or, perhaps, in the whole world beside. See Blackstone, *passim*—& Montesquieu vol. 1. 8vo. in the section on the English Constitution.

To conclude: *Let us not meddle*, let us have no part or connection *with those that are given to change*. Let us join as one man animated and actuated by one mind. Let faction, let party, let bitterness and evil-speaking be put away from us, and let sincere piety to God, and respectful submission to government be our firm and fraternal bond of national union.

THEN shall we be more than a match for all our enemies. Then *those that be for us* will be *more and mightier than those that be against us*. For then Heaven would fight our battles, and God himself go out with our fleets and armies. *Then would our light break forth as the morning, and our health spring forth speedily. Then would righteousness go before us, and the glory of the Lord be our reward.*

T H E E N D.

